

Ma Ferguson was Governor of Texas once and was involved in a debate about the English-only language back in the 1930s. She had a press conference and held up a Bible and she said, "If English was good enough for Jesus, it is good enough for Texas." It is the good-enough theory, I guess. The 5.25-percent tax rate is good enough for corporations that moved American jobs overseas. Why is a 5.25-percent tax rate not good enough for people named Johnson and Olsen? Why is 5.25 percent not good enough for everybody?

Why is it that this Congress, when it looks at these issues, won't even take a baby step in the right direction? We are hemorrhaging good jobs in this country. This is a race to the bottom. We fought for a century about important things. We fought for a century about the right of workers to organize. It is a very important right in America. It was a similar fight that lit the fuse that caused freedom all over Eastern Europe. Lech Walesa led that fight, the right to organize. People died in the streets on that issue—the right to say that we are not going to have 12-year-old kids working down in a mine, or in a factory. Child labor laws, safe workplace laws—a whole range of issues. We fought for a century to create safe workplaces, child labor laws, minimum wages, the right to organize, all of these issues, which have, in my judgment, made this a better place.

The fact is, there are American companies now that simply pole-vault over the issues and say we don't have to worry about that, about hiring kids. We can hire kids, we can hire 12-year-olds, work them 12 hours a day, pay 12 cents an hour, and we don't have to worry. How do we do that? We hire them overseas, hire them elsewhere. That means those who have to compete in this new world order have to compete with countries that have decided they are going to make it illegal for workers to organize. You have to compete with 12-year-old kids who are paid 12 cents an hour.

If you wonder whether that is happening, I can show you stories. There is one about a woman named Sadisha, who is making tennis shoes for 16 cents an hour. This is an hour and a half of labor in a pair of tennis shoes that comes to our store shelves for \$80 a pair, and Sadisha's pay is 24 cents for making the tennis shoes.

You think that doesn't happen? It does. I can tell you stories about the kids in India who were making carpets, who came to this country and testified before the Congress about the conditions in which they worked. The people they worked for took gunpowder and lit the gunpowder on the children's fingertips to create scarring, so these little kids could be employed to sew these carpets. And the carpets were sent to our store shelves so we could buy them, and congratulate ourselves on the low prices.

Is there an admission price to the American marketplace? Is there? Are

there some basic set of standards, or is this a race to the bottom to have us compete with that sort of situation?

I held a hearing not too long ago with some young women from Honduras working in a sweatshop making designer shirts, for a very prominent American label. They were working under incredibly abusive conditions. The story is the same all over.

People talk about this being free trade. Look, this is simply a sea of red ink, a trade deficit that is weakening this country, and we have not paid any attention to the rules of trade that would begin to stop this. We had better wake up and decide that our interest is to be protective—and, yes, I use that word even though it is a pejorative word these days—protective of the economic interests of this country. We must do that.

I spoke of Lech Walesa. Let me describe his speech to a joint meeting of the Congress, one of the most remarkable moments I recall in my service here.

He told us about a Saturday morning in a shipyard in Gdansk, Poland, when, having been fired as an electrician in that shipyard, this unemployed electrician was leading a strike against the Communist government demanding rights for the labor movement in Poland.

He said they grabbed him that Saturday morning and began to beat him. The Communist secret police grabbed him and beat him severely and threw him over the barbed wire fence at the edge of the shipyard. He laid there, having been beaten severely, face down, bleeding in the dirt. He said he wondered while laying there, this unemployed electrician having been beaten severely, what to do next. Well, he picked himself up, and climbed right back over the barbed wire fence, right back into the same shipyard, to continue the fight. Ten years later this unemployed electrician was announced at the door of the U.S. House of Representatives as the President of his country, the President of Poland.

This was not an intellectual, not a scholar, not a diplomat, not a soldier, but an unemployed electrician with uncommon courage. He said this to us: We didn't have any guns. The Communists had all the guns. We didn't have any bullets. The Communists had all the bullets. We were armed only with an idea, a powerful idea: People ought to be free to choose their own destiny. And then he said: Ideas are more powerful than guns.

There was a lot of applause that day, and appropriately so—applause of courage, the progress towards freedom and labor rights in Poland. But around here, we seem to have short memories. We are trading away our hard-won rights.

The first baby step we should have taken in this Congress we decided not to take. I offered an amendment, and it was defeated, to stop the perverse and insidious tax breaks that incentivize

American jobs going overseas. Let's not reward companies that move our jobs overseas. Stop it; stop it now. It is a baby step to decide to shut down that tax incentive.

We did not get it done this time. I lost that vote. But I am relentless, and I will again be on this floor the minute we return in January demanding once again an opportunity to debate and to vote on this issue. This is about American jobs. It is about hope and opportunity in this country. It is about expanding this great American experiment, and this issue, I assure you, will not go away.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

## TRIBUTES TO RETIRING SENATORS

ZELL MILLER

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to make a couple of comments regarding the departure of one of our colleagues, Senator ZELL MILLER. I have had the pleasure of working with Senator MILLER for the last several years and I think the world of him. He comes from a great line of fantastic Senators from the great State of Georgia.

When I was first elected, I served with Senator Sam Nunn and Senator Mack Mattingly. Both were very good friends. Both were outstanding Senators. Senator Paul Coverdell, a very good, close friend of mine, served in the Senate for a little over a term and, unfortunately, had a very sudden illness and passed away. ZELL MILLER was appointed to take his place.

I remember thinking at the time that Paul Coverdell was a great loss to the Senate. I believe that today. He had a great future in the Senate. He was actually elected to the Senate leadership, which was very unusual for his first term in the Senate. Paul Coverdell was one of my closest friends. I really did mourn his loss.

I did not know his replacement appointed at that time, ZELL MILLER, but I got to know him very quickly. I grew to know him, respect him, and admire him as a patriot and as a Senator. He did a fantastic job in service not only to his state of Georgia but, frankly, to this country. He made a valued, positive, and considerable impact on the Senate and, frankly, on our country. I will talk about that for a second.

I remember he was a real leader in passing the Homeland Security legislation. That was very tough legislation. It passed by a very narrow margin. We did that in his first year in the Senate.

He supported efforts to enact tax reform. I was chairman of the Committee on the Budget in 2003, and we passed a budget, frankly, by one vote. ZELL MILLER's vote helped make it happen. We had about 80 something amendments to the budget during consideration of the budget process. ZELL MILLER was with me on every one. He cosponsored the budget. He was my principal cosponsor of that budget.

That budget enabled us to pass the tax relief we did later that year, the economic tax reform bill of 2003. That bill made a lot of changes, I might add, a lot of positive changes, that would not have passed had it not been for ZELL MILLER. He cosponsored that bill with me. I was honored the President asked me to sponsor it, and I was honored to ask ZELL MILLER if he would cosponsor it with me, and he did.

We defeated a lot of amendments designed to gut the legislation, and we passed the budget. Again, we passed it with the Vice President breaking the tie. It would not have passed without ZELL MILLER's leadership, without his sponsoring the legislation.

What did that legislation do? It made a difference on every American taxpayer in this country. That legislation allowed us to have a \$1,000 tax credit per child. That legislation allowed us to expand and provide marriage penalty relief. For a couple making \$58,000, marriage penalty relief boiled down to about \$905. That passed because ZELL MILLER stood with us on that legislation.

It also allowed us to reduce the capital gains tax rate from 20 percent to 15 percent. It allowed us to say that we would not double tax corporate dividends, at least not as punitively as we did before. We reduced the corporate tax on dividends. Actually, the bill we passed in the Senate had zero double taxation. The bill that came out of conference was 15 percent, instead of the ordinary rates. That is a big and positive change because this country, unfortunately, taxed distributions from corporations higher than any other country. We are tied with Japan at a net effective tax rate of 70 percent.

Why would corporations distribute earnings to their owners if the Government would get 70 percent? Many did not. They would accumulate earnings, hide the money, or do something different with them. We passed that legislation, and now people are paying dividends.

Microsoft announced a multibillion-dollar distribution because of that legislation. We tax it now at the individual rate, 15 percent. When we started marking up that legislation, the Dow Jones was at 7,700. Today it is over 10,500. That legislation made a difference. That legislation passed because ZELL MILLER stood with us on the floor to pass that legislation.

It is not too often you can actually say you passed legislation that made a real and positive impact. There are over two million jobs that have been created in the last 14 months as a result of that legislation. I believe the President signed it in June of 2003. It has been almost a year and a half now, and a couple of million jobs have been created since we passed that legislation. The economy is moving. Revenues are coming into the Government. The deficit is \$100 billion less than estimated previously, 9 months ago, because, there is economic revival. We do

have new jobs being created. There are positive signs. A lot of that happened because of the courage and conviction of the Senator from Georgia.

I said Paul Coverdell was my friend. He has certainly been missed in this Senate, and that is a fact. I will also say that ZELL MILLER is my very dear friend and he will be missed in the Senate. He only served for a few years in the Senate, but he had a great impact, a very positive impact, not only on taxpayers, and the country but to our body politic, the body of the country. As a patriot, a former marine, former mayor, former State senator, former Lieutenant Governor, and as a former Governor, he had enormous impact.

He was a speaker at the Republican National Convention. I told him his speech wasn't so much that of a Democrat or Republican; his speech was that of a patriot who was speaking out strong because he believed strongly in this country. You could see it. You could sense it. You could believe it.

I am very proud to have ZELL MILLER as my friend. He and his wife Shirley have been a blessing to this body and a blessing to this country. I thank God for the fact I had the opportunity to serve with him and the fact that he served in this body. I think our country is much better for it, and I wish him every good wish in the years ahead.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to make a couple of comments regarding my very good friend, BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, who is retiring with me at the end of this session. Senator CAMPBELL is a unique Senator. All Senators are unique, but he is especially unique. He is a very special Senator, the only Native American presently serving in the Senate and he is chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee.

He has a very distinguished career. He was in the Air Force. He served in Korea. He served in the State legislature. He served in the House of Representatives. I believe he was elected in 1986. He was elected to the Senate as a Democrat in 1992, 12 years ago. He was reelected in 1998. In March of 1995, he had the courage and the conviction to change parties. That is not easily done. He did it and I greatly respect him and admire him for that, but also for his service to our country.

He is a jewelry designer.

I have had the pleasure of knowing BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL and his wife, Linda, fairly well for the last 12 years. I have great respect for him. He has passed a lot of legislation. A lot of

people are not aware of that. Many of his bills have become law. In many cases, he is a quiet legislator. He is effective and he gets things done.

He is on the Appropriations Committee. He has had his fingerprints on a lot of legislation. He is chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee. That committee considers a multitude of issues. Some of us kind of moved around and made way for him to become chairman of that committee. We thought it was very special to have a Native American become chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee for the first time.

He is unique from the standpoint that he rides a Harley. He has a great love for the West.

I think he has made a valuable, important contribution to this body, the Senate.

He has represented his State of Colorado very well. Colorado has had some great Senators. Bill Armstrong was one of my favorite Senators and one of my mentors. WAYNE ALLARD is another outstanding Senator from Colorado. BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL certainly falls in that role of being an outstanding Senator. I think he and Linda both will be missed in this body, the Senate.

I congratulate him and Linda for their many years of service going all the way back to the military, to the State legislature, to serving in the House of Representatives, and now 12 years in the Senate. He has given a lot of public service to this country, and given it well. He has served well. As the Bible says, "Well done thou good and faithful servant". He has certainly done that. He has made the State of Colorado very proud and, frankly, the country very proud. The Senate is better off for his service. I congratulate him for his service.

The Senate will miss the services and the laughter of BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL. I compliment him for his service.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DR. HARRY FRITZ

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a distinguished man and educator, Montana's 2004 Professor of the Year award winner, Dr. Harry Fritz.

Harry was born in the State of Maryland, but he graduated from Missoula County High School in Montana in 1956. He attended Dartmouth College to earn his bachelor of arts degree. Harry's relationship with the University of Montana, located in Missoula, began when he attended the university to get his master of arts degree.